return to the *lupanda*, where the initiates are welcomed by their friends. An essential part of the ceremony which takes place at this stage is the exhibition of animal shapes made by the *m'micira*, with mounds of earth outlined in flour. These animal shapes differ from lodge to lodge. On the last night before the return to the village the initiates undergo a ceremonial bathing, each boy being carried to the stream by a woman, who thereafter is addressed as 'elder sister'. Finally, with new names, and freshly oiled and decorated, they march to the chief's village to be redeemed by him from the *m'micira* with gifts of cloth. After initiation it is a deadly insult to call a boy by his child-name. All who pass through initiation together consider themselves bound by mutual obligations of hospitality.[1]

Girls' initiation takes place in three stages. First, there is *ciputu*, the general initiation before puberty, which corresponds to the boys' *lupanda*. It takes place at the same time of year, and though it lasts for less than a week, its conclusion is celebrated at *lupanda* jointly with the conclusion of the boys' initiation. A hut is built in the bush, like the long dormitory of the boys, and four days are spent in dancing and singing. Each girl (aged about eight years) is accompanied by a sponsor, a woman friend who continues to be her mentor during subsequent rites, and who assists in giving the girl instruction in her womanly duties. At the end the girls are bathed and anointed, dressed in new clothes, and each is carried to *lupanda* by her sponsor. Here they prove their skill in dancing and receive gifts from their friends. Ritual defloration follows the *ciputu* initiation.[2] Among Mohammedans, clitoridectomy used to be performed by a woman operator, but, it is said, was discontinued in about 1903 on account of the heavy mortality.[3]

After this first general celebration, first pregnancy and first birth are the occasions of separate rites for each girl. According to some informants there were once two ceremonies connected with pregnancy. One, for the young married men whose wives had not yet conceived, used to take place at the same time as *ciputu*; each man was attended by a woman sponsor not his wife, given good advice, and put through various tests of manhood. Mitchell does not confirm the present existence of this ceremony, but in the old days if a man was betrothed or married to a child going through her *ciputu* he had to accompany her.

The *litiwo* ceremony takes place when a young married woman quickens with child for the first time.[4] The woman, with her sponsor and the married women of the neighbourhood, went out in procession for a ceremony of singing and dancing and instruction to the young couple, followed by a feast. Nowadays no men are allowed to attend *litiwo*. A child born of a woman who had not undergone this rite used to be buried alive; nowadays her *anyene mbumba* is charged by the chief.

Finally, six days after the first child is born, its naming ceremony forms a last initiation rite for its mother. The husband is formally led into her hut by her sponsor and the married women of the neighbourhood, and the child is taken out for the first time to the accompaniment of feasting and dancing.

Most Yao men and women act as sponsors of initiates at least once, and all parti-

[1] Sources for boys' initiation: Stannus and Davey, 1913; Werner, 1906, pp. 124–6; Stannus, 4, 1922, pp. 247–63; Heckel, 1935, pp. 19 sq.; Johnston, 1897, p. 409; Weule, 1, 1909, p. 304.
[2] Stannus, 4, 1922, p. 234.
[3] Ibid., 1, 1910, p. 256.
[4] Ibid., 4, 1922, p. 274; Heckel, 1935, p. 23, calls it *cinumbu* (belly).

performed these services used to enter a special relationship of privileged familiarity with the village of the dead. This has died out in Nyasaland, but accounts of *Utani*[1] among the Yao at Masasi and Songea suggest that something of the kind is still practised.

Chiefs and headmen are not buried outside the village, as are other persons. They used to be buried before their own huts, but now in the centre of the village. Shrines were raised over their graves, at which offerings of beer and flour were made. If the village was moved the pot of beer sunk into the ground at the chief's grave was also removed and reinstated at the new site. A dead slave was buried by his fellow slaves; normal rights of sepulture were denied to suicides and to persons who had died in taking the poison ordeal (that is, convicted sorcerers).[2]

OTHER DISTINCTIVE CULTURAL FEATURES

The Yao have a tribal mark of two short cuts on each side of the face between the eye and the ear.[3] Their women did not wear the *pelele*, lip-ring, although their neighbours the Makua and Makonde did;[4] the fashion seems to have spread to south Nyasa in the 1880's, as many travellers commented on it, without distinguishing whether the wearers were Yao, Nyanja, or Lomwe.[5] The women used to pierce the left *ala nasi* and insert a metal or lead stud, *cipini*.[6]

MAKUA-LOMWE

TRIBAL AND SUB-TRIBAL GROUPINGS AND DEMOGRAPHY

Nomenclature

The *Ma-* in *Makua* is not a prefix, but part of the name. Variant spellings are *Makua*, *Makoa*, *Makoane*. They are sometimes referred to by the name of one subdivision, the Medo Makua, and called *Ameto* or *Meto*.[7]

The *Lomwe* (also spelt *Lomwei*) are called *Alolo* by the Yao, and are also frequently called *Anguru* (*Nguru*) which is an old name for the people of the region.[8] Any of the Makua-Lomwe peoples who have migrated into south Nyasaland are collectively termed *Nguru* in official reports; Nguru is a hill in the region of Portuguese East Africa, whence they come, but they should not be confused with the Nguru of Tanganyika.[9] Another name for them is *Acilowe*.[10] *Alolo* is incorrectly applied to all the Lomwe; it has a stricter application to the Cuabo from Quilimano.

[1] Scrivenor, 1937; Moreau, 1941; Spies, 1943.

[2] Main sources for burial are: Johnson, J., 1922, pp. 28–30; Stannus, 4, 1922, pp. 240–6; Abdullah, 1919, pp. 19–21; Duff, 1903, pp. 322–4; Macdonald, 1882, vol. i, pp. 210–12.

[3] Murray, 1932, p. 153.

[4] Thompson, 1882, pp. 77–8, writing of the Yao of the Ruvuma valley.

[5] Macdonald, 1882, vol. i, pp. 16–17; 'around Blantyre hardly any women is without it'.

[6] Stannus, 1, 1910, p. 316.

[7] *Handbook of Portuguese Nyasaland*, 1921, p. 39; Murray, 1922, p. 56; Weule, 1, 1909, p. 259; Livingstone, 1874, p. 32.

[8] Theal, 1899, pp. 415–17; Gaspar Bocarro passed through Manguro country. Burton, 1873 (Lacerda's Journey, 1798), mentions Mangurus.

[9] Abraham, 1931, p. 13; Murray, 1922, p. 46.

[10] Johnston, W. P., 4, 1894.

881 in turn. After drinking, they sit down while the n'mishilo gives instructions that here they sleep tonight. He takes his basket and starts to run back to *Lupondo*, singing:

[533 "*Ee* *hwajilo* *pilolaya* *ukombaja* *hukwajiva* *ku Mwanda!*"
539] "Where we went to mastava to *Mwanda!*"

Then going to the back of his hut, he enters and takes a piece of bark left there heat up into a dish containing medicine which has been put in by an assistant. This assistant holds in his hand the neck of one of the fowls which was killed at *Lupondo*. The n'mishilo washes his face and chest with medicine to cleanse his eyes and then leans forward to the assistant and bites a piece off the neck of the fowl which the assistant holds out, and eats it. This is *ku-lumiva*, "to taste a small piece," often the liver, before starting to eat the flesh; this is generally done by the most important person. The n'mishilo has been followed by his assistants who do as he has done. They all follow him next round the cooking place for the boys at *Lupondo*, each standing for a moment on the stones which have supported the cooking pots, while the women sit looking on sadly. He begins to dance and the women join in, singing *likwata*. He then calls the parents of the wali and leads them to where the boys are. There assembled, he tells them they must not bathe, and that tomorrow morning early, porridge is to be sent to the wali which must be prepared by a woman who has had connection with her husband and who has not washed her hands; this is supposed to make the boys strong. Early in the morning, the husband, who likewise has not washed his hands, carries the food to the wali and personally gives portions to each boy to eat.

831 When they have partaken of the food, the circumcision is performed by the n'mishilo
●304 who has returned the same morning early. The wali one by one, commencing with the leader, go forward a little to the place where the n'mishilo awaits them. Each wali is accompanied by his *nkwawali* who commonly says, "Come along and you shall eat of the honey made by the tumbishwa." Such honey is very sweet and called *mawwa*. This refers in sarcastic terms to the pain the boy is about to undergo. The boy squats down, leaning back on his *nkwawali* who supports him, while the medicine-man, having warned the lad not to cry out, performs the circumcision with a small knife called *chiwanda*. It is a triangular knife with one cutting edge and a handle produced from the opposite corner. Properly
[412] the Yao method is, I believe, only to nick the free margin of the prepuce just to the right of the middle line near the frenum, but complete circumcision is now commonly practised, possibly as the result of Swahili influence. In this case, the prepuce is seized and held by the fingers, and division made by a circular incision without using a clamp or forked stick.
[752] A dressing of charcoal and oil may be applied or medicine is chewed in the mouth and the saliva spat on the wound and the boy sent on to rest under some convenient tree.

882 When all the wali have been circumcised, they are gathered together in one place and
[751] the n'mishilo dividing them into groups, puts on the neck of the leader of each group a necklace made of plaited bark from the *mpundu* tree; these necklaces contain medicine against all evils – witchcraft, attack by lions, etc.

3: Stanner D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT? Yao FT?

The hair of the axilla is always removed in men and women, usually by shaving but sometimes in the case of women it is dealt with as in the case of the pubic hair. A man with unshaven axillae would be laughed at and referred to as "a man carrying a fowl in his armpit." The axillary hairs are called *mandenga pa mampanya* (*mpanya*, the armpit).

The pubic hair, *mandenga*, is removed by both men and women; in men by shaving, in women sometimes by shaving, but preferably by plucking out after the application of a medicine called *mananandenga* (*lu-mana*, to pluck a fowl), which renders the operation easy. It is prepared from the juice which exudes from the bruised bark of the *mana-nandenga* tree. There is a woman at Malemya's who has never grown any axillary or pubic hair; she is called "the rogue elephant"; a rogue elephant has no tusks. It may be noted in passing that the woman has borne children.

A few men have the hair round the anus shaved. Such a service can only be asked of a man's closest intimate, such as a brother-in-law.

I have dealt with tattooing among the Yao in an article, as yet unpublished, on tattooing among the natives of Nyasaland.

The teeth among the Yao proper are never mutilated in any way, though the Amangoche go in for small file marks at the cutting edge of the incisors.

The old Yao women, of whom some may still be seen, used to pierce the upper lip and wear a circular disc of wood often two inches in diameter in the hole; this is called *lupelele* (Pl. VII, fig. 4). The disc was often made of lead and sometimes of ivory. The lead might be hollowed out on the upper surface; it was then called *lupelele lua utoli*. The disc caused a considerable projection of the upper lip which was much admired. A man, on the other hand, with protruding lips would be nicknamed "the warthog," *namampindo*, and considered ill favoured.

This *lupelele* fashion has gone out and of later years the *chipini* or disc worn in the left ala of the nose has become more and more fashionable (Pl. II, fig. 2). Originally the *chipini* consisted of a small disc of lead not larger than a three-penny piece, which lay on the outer surface of the ala, held in place by a stem, *kubinji*, which pierced the ala and passed into the nostril. Now the fashion is to wear a very large disc, often an inch in diameter, which itself occupies a hole in the substance of the ala of the nose; it may be flat-topped and called *chipini cha utenga* ("mushroom"), or the upper surface may often be concave, in which case it is called *chipini cha utoli* (*litoli*, a grain mortar). These discs are made of lead and are sometimes called *kidisi*, a recent word and doubtless a corruption of "lead." Others are made of ivory, which may bear some geometric pattern on the exposed surface. A *chipini* used to cost a fowl.

Among Yao men and women, the lobule of the ear is often pierced but nothing is worn in the hole except possibly a stalk of grass.

Combs for use and for ornament are worn in the hair by both men and women. The ordinary comb without decoration is called *likwendepa*; it is made of a number of pieces

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

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1. MUSICAL INSTRUMENT, THE MAPIRIPIRI, PLAYED BY YAO YOUTHS

2. A YAO AS A NATIVE WIZARD

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3. SPECIMEN OF SCARIFICATION (YAO WOMAN)

4. A YAO NATIVE

[End Plate 5]

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291
534

1. A YAO GIRL

2. YAO GIRL WEARING BEAD APRON

[171]
[304]

3. TWO YAO GIRLS WEARING TRADE CLOTH

4. A YOUNG YAO WOMAN

[End Plate 6]

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao FT7 Marav FR4

"CIRCUMCISION AND INITIATION CEREMONIES.

Y 304 M [304]

Circumcision was not practised among Anyanja. Among Amangoche, Machinga and Yao, the practice was known as *Isyago wa Isyanda*.

K'u-sunkula Isyanda:—the prepuce was drawn forward and a nick made on the right side of the median line near the frenum. An application mixed with oil was applied. At the present time the Mohammedan practice is common *K'u-sunkula jando*:—the prepuce is drawn forward through a split piece of bamboo and cut off with a sharp knife.

Circumcision is performed on boys usually at the age of nine to twelve years by a medicine man called *Nganga*, an honourable calling, in a hut at the Isyago camp. Both patient and operator stand, unless the former is young, when he sits. The ceremony is witnessed only by the boy's friend. Among Mohammedans clitoridectomy used to be performed by a woman operator (*sahanga*), but, it is said, was discontinued, on account of the heavy mortality, about seven years ago. At the time of the operation a woman was given medicine to make her vomit all unlawful things she might have eaten.

Y 304 981

Initiation ceremonies (including circumcision) take place at irregular intervals. The chief or headman settles the date at which the Isyago shall be held, generally once a year in July, when there is no work and little else to do. Boys who are considered ready will then take part. The elder brother or a friend of a boy settles whether he is ready for circumcision. The mother then takes a present to the chief. The boys, their friends and the medicine man then depart for the bush, sometimes a couple of miles away from the village. The number may vary from three or four to as many as thirty or forty. In the bush grass huts (= *manse*) are erected for their shelter. Food is brought by the mothers and deposited a little way from the camp, and the friends who have accompanied the boys fetch and carry and act as sentinels to prevent approach of any "outsiders." Six months used to be spent in the bush, now four to eight weeks only, and all the circumcision wounds must be healed by the time of the candidates' return. If a boy die, the mother is not informed, she is allowed to bring food each day; at the end when the return is made rejoining she is told by one of the men.

Y [967]

The exit from the village is accompanied by the friends dancing *Tsanji* or *Mauwe*, the boys in old calico (formerly always in bark cloth) walk and sit down on arrival at the place appointed. The circumcision is performed the following day; during the time which follows instruction is given them on their duties in after life as men, in good behaviour in their married life, re coitus, eating of food, superstitions regarding salt, etc. When this is all over a message is sent to the village, and the youths, walking quietly dressed in new cloths, are met half-way by the women and girls, who dance and sing; after the return to the village there is drinking and dancing, the newly initiated refraining for one day. At the present time the youth probably has some "friend" of the opposite sex with whom he sleeps; until he has had coitus he may not eat food into which salt has been put. His

Y 551 981 [836]

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao FT7
Marave FR4
Ngoni FR5

M 587 765 [833] marry, his new wife would die. A widow after her period of mourning of two or three months, if sought in marriage, sends her suitor to her sister, who arranges for some other man to have coitus with the widow, after which she is ready to marry the suitor. Without this her second husband would die should she have committed adultery.

M 767 622 After the funeral of a chief the headmen of the district call the chief *Mdewkulu*, who buried the late chief, and hand him a red blanket and tell him to cover the man who is going to be chief. This he does, at the same time hitting him hard on the head. This action is received with shouting from the women, who put ashes on their heads. He then sits surrounded by his brothers and sisters at one end of the open space, the headmen at the other, the leader of whom gives a sermon.

M 766 At Chipoli on the south-west arm of the Lake the corpse is wrapped in a mat and weighted, and then sunk in the lake. The same practice is followed occasionally at Monkey Bay; it is done with the idea of avoiding interference by *Mpkiti*.

Lepers and persons dying of small-pox are not bewailed; the former are thrown in the bush for *Mpkiti* to eat, as it is thought the disease is spread if they be buried. A man accused of *Mpkiti* and dying of *mwavi* used to be burnt on a pile of wood.

N 622 766 [*Note on Angoni.*—In the case of a chief the body was kept ten days to be sure of death; it was arranged in a sitting posture covered with cloth, the eyes open, a stream was dammed up with stones and then a pyre made below the dam and the body burnt, the waters were then let free to wash away the ashes. The new chief stood from morning to afternoon on one foot wrapped in the smoke of the pyre.]

M 195 769 In speaking of the dead the expression, "the late so and so" (*wa mzimuzi . . .*), is used. A man will not refer to children that have died in the presence of his wife, as she will cry either from grief or because it is the custom so to do. Some burial grounds are not approached.

ARTIFICIAL DEFORMATIONS.

M 304 [856] At birth pressure is applied to the head of the child to reduce any deformity which may be present—no deformation is attempted. Various practices of piercing nose, lips, and ears have been and are in vogue.

M [178] Piercing of the upper lip and subsequent wearing of a thin stick, sometimes a bone (*ntowo*), until the aperture was large enough to admit a much bigger ivory or wooden lip-ring, solid or otherwise (*pelele*), was practised among the Nyanja women, but it is going out and is now seen only in the old women. Occasionally the lower lip was pierced in the same way. At the present time among the Mankinga, Yao, and many Nyasa women, the left *ala nasi* is pierced in the same way when a girl is eight years old. When adult a metal or ivory solid ring is worn (*chipini*). A woman piercing the right *ala nasi* would be laughed at and called a fool.

V ●[304] Mankinga, Yao, and many Nyasa women, the left *ala nasi* is pierced in the same way when a girl is eight years old. When adult a metal or ivory solid ring is worn (*chipini*). A woman piercing the right *ala nasi* would be laughed at and called a fool.

4:Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FT7 Yao FT7 Mbrori FR4

The *pinna* in the case of men is sometimes the seat of a small circular hole originally copied from the coast Swahili whose tribal mark it was, and who did it to prevent enlargement of the scrotum.[1] A small perforation of the lobule is commonly seen among the Chipeta-Angoni. These perforations are now, however, seen indiscriminately among various tribes in the country. The former I have seen in a Nyasa—it is also general among the troupes of *professional* dancing-boys, who wear a cord or a small stick through the ear, usually the right ear. The *stick* I have seen among Asenga, Nyasa, Mashinga, and Ashewa. No definite earrings are worn. The habit of wearing three or four discs in the margin of the ear is only seen among coast women (Zanzibar) who have come to live in the country (Fig. 5).

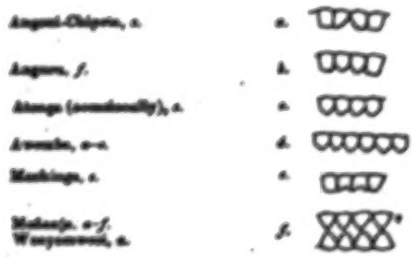

FIG. 4.

FIG. 5.

Dental mutilation was, and is to some extent, still of tribal significance, though mostly performed for appearance (Fig. 4). Actual extraction is but very seldom seen now.

A prominent breast is admired among the natives, and to secure this a cord is tied round the chest by girls, at the upper margin of the gland, with the idea of making it project. I am inclined to think it has the opposite effect. No attempts are made to elongate the breasts, they become very pendulous without any artificial aid.

Amputation of fingers and ears, castration, etc., have in the past only been practised as punishment.

Young girls by constant pulling on the *labia minora* and enclosed clitoris try to cause elongation, as such is said to be admired.

Elsewhere I have referred to the penis of natives, which I consider to be characteristic in its hardness. This is said to be caused by the "young man" purposely injuring the organ by beating it so that it never returns to normal softness when not erected.

Cicatrization.—Cicatrization is practised by both sexes of all the tribes. In former times the designs had a certain significance, such as to indicate the tribe, to signify that the wearer had been initiated, to commemorate certain events, and so

[1] This is interesting, inasmuch as the ears are pierced in England, commonly with the belief that it prevents bad eyesight.